

THE
Late PRINTS for a
Standing Army,
AND IN
VINDICATION
OF THE
MILITIA
CONSIDER'D,
Are in some parts Reconcil'd.

Facile est inventis addere.

L O N D O N,
Printed for the Author, 1698.

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STREET

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T H E
Late PRINTS for a
Standing Army,
AND IN

Vindication of the MILITIA considered, are
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I Shall avoid all Prefatory Insinuations, because Prefaces and Dedications are proper for Books and New Matter, which may bring Honour to the Patron, and Interest to the Author: This is merely according to the Title of a Pamphlet vamp'd up with some Observations that are perchance more plain than the ingenious Writings of several accurate Pens in Discourses rather Notional than Practical, concerning Militia's and Standing Armies, which are now the general Talk of the Town, and seem to have come to high Debates. I hope the Passions are over, the Pens having evacuated their Vinegar and Gall, and the Soldier sheathing his Sword, and confining his Tongue a little closer than the warmth of his Blood would at first permit. For as an eminent Writer says, *Time asswages Grief and Anger, which Passions Nature is too subject unto.*

It is no wonder the King should be uneasy to part with his Army, or his Soldiers unwilling to be separated from him; for they may be resembled to Lovers, that came not together without the permission and advice of Friends on both sides, and such as prompted them to Courage, Amity and Unanimity, for carrying on so great a Work, as to free Us from the

dismal Apprehensions of Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power, which gathered so thick a Cloud round about Us, that we were in despair of ever seeing the glorious Sun-shine of Peace, and in fear that that darling Child would never have given Us the Opportunity of singing the Song of *Simeon*.

If his Majesty had not been inspired with unspeakable Valour and Conduct, and his Soldiers with a suitable Courage and Affection, it would have rais'd a Wonder, which no History has yet afforded a parallel, that so great an Army should continue Seven Years, and more, without any the usual Encouragements of War, and hardly their common Pay, or Natural Subsistence; so that before they have cleared their Hands and Faces, and refresh'd themselves after such Fatigues as our Bodies cannot well bear, besides the Hazards undergone, for avoiding of which we would have given our All, now on a sudden to be Commanded home to seek for a Livelihood, is
thus Sermo.

The great Question is, Whether a competent Number of the present disciplin'd Forces are not absolutely necessary, until the Militia and Train'd Bands are made useful: And since I am entred into the Query, which all the Writers I have yet met with upon this Subject upon this Sessions have not spoke to satisfactorily; I desire to say for my self, that though I am unwilling to give a positive Determination, in so critical a matter as the event only in process of time shall render either of the Councils safe and honourable; yet I am not fearful to put into the Boat for an endeavour to Trim, knowing my own Innocency from designs of Advantage. I as heartily wish the Honour and Safety of my Country, as those that express themselves in a better Style, and can appear in a better Figure: Therefore being sensible of my Defects, I never intended to set Pen to paper on this Affair, until I was call'd to in the Verge of the Court, and Queried what was become of some Observations I had formerly made upon the Militia, which may be a sort of an Apology for scribbling on a Subject so well handled by great Historians, who have said all that can be said, both as to the Inconveniencies of a Standing Army, and also that the Militia and Train'd Bands have been the only Guards of this Island, and other Countries. And tho' the Art and Methods of War are become intricate and political, and our Neighbours are
more

more powerful and formidable than formerly, yet it is concluded, a Militia (in a great measure) may be made effectual for our Defence, being guarded on the Borders with such a Naval Strength as the Parliament have thought fit to Vote, yet, with submission, I have not found, or met with any Scheme, or Propositions, how, or in how long time the Militia shall be so useful, as that the Army may be forthwith reduced to so small a Number as was in 1680.

I must confess it's the height of my Ambition to be thought, and as much as I am able to prove my self, a Lover of the Constitution of my Country, the Laws and Customs of which, I have some little knowledge of, yet not so fully as I ought, and am not unwilling, or think my self too Old to learn, therefore have endeavoured to read and consider, all that has yet come out in this Meeting of Parliament, where I doubt not before their Rising, they will hit upon the best means for the security of the Kingdom in general, with the Honour and Safety of the Crown, and the Preservation of Liberty and Property, of every individual Subject; so that the old Strugglings betwixt the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Privileges of the People, may not be again contended for, or so much as Jealousie rais'd about them: For prevention of which, for the future, I hope it may not be thought a vain Repetition, to recite what Sir *John Denham* says in his Poem call'd *Coopers-Hill*.

*Thus Kings by grasping more than they could hold,
First by Oppression made their Subjects bold;
And Popular Sway by forcing Kings to give,
More than was fit for Subjects to receive;
Run to the like Extream, Both by Excess.
For being greater make each other less.*

The King and People are near in Simile to Man and Wife who ought to help each others Defects, and rejoyce at every thing they are successful in; I praise God for the disposition I have in rejoycing in this happy, and, I doubt not, lasting Peace, and then I am sure it is Honourable, and may he be Anathematized that disturbs it, or endeavours to foment a Jealousie betwixt the King and his People: The Lord *Shaftsbury* laid a Curse upon those that offer'd at a Separation; So long as the World lasts, their will be Failures in Governments; we see it every day in private Families: But
when

when none of the Seven deadly Sins are predominant, its near an Assurance those still'd Venial, will not bring so great a Punishment, as Subversion, or Ruin. We are here in this Island more inclin'd to Censuring, than Amendments, tho' we have a general Question modestly put.

Quis tam Lincius est qui tantis Tenebris nihil offendet.

It's apparent most of Christendom were concerned in building a Bulwark, and making a Confederacy for stopping an Universal Monarchy; and that at the same time we our selves had a distinct hazard, that is, we had as much, or more fear (as we pretended) of our Religion than Property, our Religion being Reformed from the rest of the Confederacy: And yet I think I may say few or none of the Confederacy have heapt up so great Wealth in their Stations, as several Subjects of this Nation (not by hazarding their Persons either by Sea or Land) but by starving the Seamen, and Land Soldiers, and their Wives, by making Exactions for ready Money on the King and his Officers in their Straits, and also disparaging the very best Funds the Parliament could think of, or give for Reputation, or Preservation of the Government: Extortion in no Age, ever come up to the like; *Empson* and *Dudley*, *Burton* and *Graham*, were not half so notorious in their Stations; so that if these were strip'd to what they had in 1688. and that given amongst the Soldiers, and their Persons left to run the Gauntlet of the Army to be disbanded, and then sent to Sea to be keel-haul'd till they have drunk as much Salt-water as the poor Women and Children have suck'd in brackish Tears, it would make the Gratuities, which the Army is in hopes to receive, much more Satisfactory; we have suspected some to be Betrayers of the Councils, but its visible several have been grinders of the Poor, and Disparagers of the Government, Stock-Jobbers particularly, who, if not severely Corrected, will Enrol themselves with the Jews, and so in time be more pernicious to the Government (whilst in Debt) than either Jew or Jesuit: For there are Laws sufficient already to take up these when ever any Civil [Magistrate], or the Government, thinks fit; This may be thought to be a digressive Invective, yet I request it may be considered, whether a continued Standing-Army can be kept without Pay: and whether if the Pay must be near

near as great as it has been, the Taxes must not be as great; if so, how can the increase of the Debt be avoided, a full discourse of which would take up time, almost to a forgetfulness of the main Undertaking, which may be brought under these Heads.

First, A Consideration of what Forces are absolutely necessary at present for Preservation of his Majesty's Person with Honour and Safety.

Secondly, How many ought to be in constant Pay and Exercise, for defence of our Forts, and Maritime Towns.

Thirdly, Whether it be not discretion, to have some supernumeraries always in readiness, to send to our Plantations, in case of any Mutinies there; or that they should be in hazard by *Bucaniers*, or Pirates, or Foreigners, of any kind whatsoever.

To these three Heads I do not apprehend the Militia was ever employ'd, nor do I perceive there's any Thoughts of making the Militia for these Purposes, nor were they ever naturally Inclined to these Uses: Nor do I see how they can be Employed in these Affairs; their use being Properly,

First, To Suppress any Insurrections that shall happen within the Kingdom.

Secondly, To Convene and march to that part, or Quarter of the Kingdom, where an Invasion may be suspected.

For which two Purposes last mentioned, in my Apprehension, the Militia may be as effectually useful, as a continued Army, so large as will be absolutely necessary for that purpose; For demonstration of which I must crave a little more Patience of the Reader, and his Liberty to draw some Observations, wherein a numerous Army may raise several Inconveniencies.

First, it is apparent a Standing-Army is not allow'd by any of our Neighbours, tho' by their Situation on the Continent, they are enforced to maintain great Numbers in Pay, and strict Guards to defend each Precincts, like Shepherds with their Assistants in common Fields to prevent Streakings and Trespasses, which is a charge and Inconveniency saved us, (God be praised for his Providence) Nature guarding us with the Sea, which being assisted by humane Endeavours as the Parliament have wisely consider'd, I doubt not we are as safe as in former Ages; Tho we are told of the great
Numbers

Numbers of the *French*, and the Possibilities of their attempting us by Invasion, which in Human Reasoning is as remote a Probability as can be proposed, I do not find they ever attempted it, when they had more promising Opportunities, than I hope they will ever have again; for I am inclined to believe 20 or 30000 Men were in readiness in 1688, to have come over; but how, after what manner, and upon what Account; not by way of Invasion but assistance, if King *James* would have helpt them over, and accepted them, which as I have heard he never would. Now, (tho' I underwent as many of his Passions and Severities as any one in his Reign) yet since I did Eat of his Bread, though it was carefulness with Sour Grapes, for I was dismissed by him of the Employments I bought in King *Ch. II.* time, yet I will not charge him with more Endeavours for alienating the Affections of his Subjects, than were really agitated, they were sufficient to draw Mortification upon him in this World, *Tantum Religio potuit*— But to the discourse we are upon, neither then did they offer to Embark, nor in all this long War, (tho' they took many of our Merchantmen) had they ever Shipping or Men, fit for the purpose of an Invasion: we are told it was an Accident, that prevented the danger we were in, when the *Spanish Armada* attempted us.

This is to draw us into amusements, and make us conclude our Politicians will always have Miracles or Wonders, on Foot. Where's the Peace if we must have more Troops quarter'd amongst us than we have had all the War. This looks as if we had been paying Taxes these Eight Years for the Assistance of our Neighbours, and so much to the weakning of our selves, as that we might be the easier conquer'd by our own Consents. Can it be imagin'd we have a firm Peace, when we say and argue the *French* are in possibility and readiness to invade us? Have we shak'd hands with our Neighbours in the Peace, so that there is to be no more Assisting one from the other? I promised my self a firm Alliance, during this King's Life, at least; And tho' all our Assistances may be forgotten of Queen *Elizabeth's* time, yet I cannot think its forgotten that we paid them readily and willingly the 600000*l.* which was all I ever heard was ask'd for the happy coming in of King *William*. Nor do I imagine they will not allow their danger all this War to be
more

more to them than us. *Brussels*, and many others, have been often attempted, when we were quiet in our Beds. It must be confess'd we were consequentially in danger. *Tunc tua res agiter pares cum proxima Ardet.* Our turn no doubt would have been to be attack'd by the *French*, had we not endeavour'd to defend the *Low-Countries*, whose submission would have been our Ruine. But I cannot think they will suffer the *French* to invade us; for, if we be ruin'd, what will become of them? These Discourses make the Peace but a Cessation, and the *French* do their work the sooner: These are but Discourses, I fear not the Event. For if Preparations be now great, and all things ready, and a Wind to serve their Turn, I cannot avoid thinking that we shall not be watchful; and in a posture of Defence, and that our Neighbours also will be waiting over to our Assistance as readily, and as great Numbers, and with as good affection, (especially if we pay them again) as our Enemies have malice, whom we say are reduc'd to such poverty, they were not able to Cultivate their Country, and necessitated to court our King to a Peace: And yet on the sudden we have a formidable Scheme of Invasions. We have had in former Reigns 40000 Black Bills to destroy us. In the Revolution every individual Person in fear of being murthered by the *Irish*; and now we shall be in daily fear of the *French*, if we have not a Standing Army to defend us. Nor do we think, that if the *French* do not come immediately to us, that our other Neighbours will be more afraid of our coming to them. If our Trading hold or increase, I am near an assurance we may as soon Transport, as be Invaded: And if we neither Aggress abroad, nor be Invaded at home, its conclusive a Standing Established Army is to give Laws at home; and then Old *England* good night altogether.

For my part, I shall never be in fear of an Invasion, whilst we rely on God's Providence, and are awake to use Human Reasoning and Endeavours. But allow our Neighbours have attempted rash Things; therefore, shall we nurse up unadvised or non-presidented Policies, which may be like Worms in Children that eat their Intrails? Is a supernumerary Army to be kept up for meer Fantaſms? Did ever a supernumerary Servant or two kept idle in a Family, do half so much good at a Chance-time, as his Idleness did hurt in the general?

I hope in time of Peace we shall not be infatuated into Blindness, Carelessness, and Effeminacy; but shall have a Natural and Political Care, keeping our Arms from rusting, and our Shipping ready to sail. And our Ambassadors will be watchful: And if we have not Spies, I hope we have Friends, that, like Starlings to the Dove-House, will communicate to us when any Great Design is upon Us. 'Tis confess'd, the King came over with a small Number; yet King *James* had Intimation of them; and the Preparations were examin'd, how close soever the Design was cover'd. And altho there was never a more General Inclination here, or Invitation and Preparation for his Reception; yet we see cross Winds retarded him once; and it was a Wonder, next to a Miracle, that he should stretch so long a Sea, at that Season, and to a Place which was the best and only one he could have been successful in; and yet we have heard it was come very near a Resolution of Returning, tho no Army did or could come near to oppose Him.

To keep a number of Men for consumption meerly of the Product, is like the Lubbards in Monasteries heretofore; and if that is the main of the Argument, 'tis requisite they should have parallel Cloisters, or Cells, and the like Restraints to keep them within compass: For 'tis apparent, those we have had idle in Nurseries for this War, have made horrid incursions into the Civil Rights, by streaking and making themselves Masters of all the Game in every Royalty they came near; and have not only broke into all Immoralities, and so voraciously and prodigally wasted and devour'd their Landlords; whereby that Revenue it self that should pay them and their Quarters, is much shortned, and will be more; for the Roads will not be passable; and in all roads the Accommodations are very indifferent, many Publick Houses being shut up. 'Tis a sad story to reckon how many have been Murder'd, and how Magistracy has been affronted. An Army is to be always busied either in their proper Exercises, or Works Military; or having leisure from them, if they were employ'd in cutting Rivers, or making or mending Highways, they would be fitter for Fatigues in marching, or their own proper Business.

I hope Employments will be found for those that may be thought absolutely necessary to be kept on foot at present, even those that are or shall be thought necessary for Guards about this great Town; which, I confess, I think ought to be more
than

than was in 80, for several Reasons as I may instance hereafter: And also Publick Works in the Frontiers and Garrisons, will keep the Soldiers in Health, and make them digest what's wholesome Diet in their Quarters. I go not upon the distinct Number of Veteran Troops, or Companies, because I do not find any certain Number insisted upon: Yet I hope I may observe, That if this Magnificent City spreads her Wings proportionably in Times of Peace, as she has done in the Times of Jealousies and Fears of having her Customs and Privileges encroach'd upon, and in danger of being subverted; and as she has done even in this long War, her Streets being much encreas'd and peopled to the West and North, and this principally by Foreiners, who are likely to encrease wonderfully more in times of Peace. Not that I would say any thing to put a stop to the Scripture's Declaration, notwithstanding that the Numbers of the People are the Honour of the King, and causes Industry in a Nation; yet, I say, if the Numbers encrease by Shoals of Foreiners, we must either have them absolutely in the Boundaries of our Laws, or have Sentinels set over them, or Regiments particularly Quarter'd amongst them.

Pardon me if I am mistaken, when I say, I do not believe the Train'd Bands can prevent an Insurrection there, whenever any Pressure, or Caprichio, should dispose them to combine; I do believe Wives and Children, and a settled Habitation, go a great way towards a Security. But if *France* be so formidable, as that 'tis prudent or necessary to watch for keeping them out, I shall be inclin'd to conclude, 'tis as requisite to have a careful eye upon those of that Nation amongst us: For I am morally assured, *England* was never invaded, without a Party within who gave an Invitation. 'Tis confess'd, the City within the Walls may be kept in Safety and Obedience, by the Discretion of the Lord Mayor and his Lieutenancy, and may march out with their Train'd Bands and Auxiliaries, to join with the Military Force of *Middlesex*. But the Foreiners, if combin'd, may be embody'd and form'd and fix'd in such advantageous Posts, as one shall find it a difficult matter to attack or subdue them; especially if the Nation is consternated with an Invasion. And I am sorry there is so apparent an occasion to fear, that we have too many of our own Natives, that are so far from dutiful Principles, that they care not how great the Devastation is, so that they may share the Shipwreck. *Plutarch* was not mistaken in saying,

*When Discord rules in Realm or Town,
The Wicked gain the Chief Renown.*

By this time I think my self concluded to have changed my Mind, and adhere to the Arguments for a Standing Army, when in reality I am only for requisite and necessary Guards in and about this City, the Maritim Towns and Sea-Ports, besides a Reserve for our Plantations; I wish not one Man more: For I do not think there needs one Troop, or Company, throughout the Body of the Kingdom: I do really think the Militia may be made so useful, as to secure the Government from any Insurrection there. And to demonstrate I am not for a numerous Force in continu'd Pay and Quarters; by permission, as the part of the City I have mentioned may reasonably require, I humbly offer this as a rational Proposition; tho' I am sure it will be arraign'd at first sight, if ever it be allow'd of, or effected (because it was debated, and came near a Determination in the Reigns of King Charles and King James) that is, Building a Citadel where the *Mews* is; which has room also to make Barracks to contain a greater number than are absolutely necessary; and a few Cannon planted there, will awe all that part of the Town, better than several Regiments distributed in Quarters. And moreover, if Regiment: be lodg'd by Reliefs for a Fortnight, three Weeks, or a Month, at discretion; they are readier for the Guards, and less troublesome to the City, by coming and going through all parts to and from the Parade, and in less danger than formerly of being indicted for a Nuisance. This may seem a chimerical Notion, coming from a private Person; and if it should be entertain'd and set about, without the Advice or Approbation of the Parliament, it would perhaps raise great Jealousies and Fears: For avoiding of which, I shall no longer insist upon that Thought.

Therefore let us now enter into a Discourse how the Militia may be made useful, and far exceed the Number of all the Army now in Pay, with abundantly less Charge to the Nation, than the Army has been, and must of necessity be, till the Militia is made servicable; which must be first by Acts of Parliament; and those brought into Methods and Exercise, which will require Time; for Soldiers are not made by Inspiration, as some Pulpitarians are; Military Men must have Discipline and Exercise to make them useful. And I doubt it will require more than one Year to make Acts, and put them in practice, so as that they shall have the intended effect: And till then, I do not believe any Man will think it necessary, through Jealousie, to have the King and Government naked. Some.

Some Men think 'tis no more than to say (now the Peace is concluded) *To your Tents, O Israel*— I wish those Persons would consider, that if we were as morally assur'd as is possible, that neither Foreiners from abroad, nor at home, would think of disturbing us ; What a Condition would our innate Disposition bring us to, if the King should suddenly die (which God forbid) and no Guard for the succeeding Government, but the present confus'd Militia ! I have known the Militia themselves very near Battling for a Father and a spurious, or at least a controverted Son. Our Divisions, Subdivisions, and Animosities, would make mad Work : We should be suddenly like an *Aeldama* ; which sad Omen G O D avert.

I am as willing as any Man to hide our own Infirmities ; but as Foreign States pry as much as they can into our Politicks ; so no doubt they look into our Morals.

I hope I may be pardon'd if I think the King is us'd in this our Island, as we ourselves are with our Air and Agues, sometimes very hot, and immediately very cold : One while we admire him, and exalt Him to the Station of a God, and in an instant, so soon as Safety appears, before the Proclamation of Peace is out of our Ears, and our Addresses deliver'd, we are inflam'd with Jealousie, and fear Our Eagle will soar so high in the Sunshine of his Prosperity, that he will make some sudden *Cancellere* upon us. I would not be bold with the Royal Hawks, nor the Noble Game ; yet I hope I may, like a Sparrow-Hawk, have a short flight at the Bush, by hinting at what has been printed : For there was a Book that made a Great Man more than a Conquerour ; and there has been Clauses that seem to make him less than a Man : For after a large Declaration of a Free Gift, follows Clauses of Restrictions that makes our H E R O less than an *Imberbis Juvenis*, who has power to dispose of what his God-fathers gave him. Disbanding and Manacling was not thought of, when Fears of Popery, Arbitrary Power, and Acts of Resumption crouded into our Apprehensions.

It was said the last Year, That if there were not sold some lasting Security for those that had brought in their Money freely, the Money'd Men, and the Military, would find, in Peace, delatory Considerations ; perhaps both one Answer, *Look to your Hiss better the next time.*

We have one certain Observation in *England*, That the Soldier who makes not his Fortune whilst the Sword is in his hand, shall.

shall have no more than a Complemental Commendation; for in a short time of Peace, an old Soldier will be like an old Almanack.

It may be freely wager'd, there's not one Man in a hundred that charges his Memory with the Fears he had in the Revolution, of an *Irish-man's* cutting his Throat, though there was not above 3000 to do this all over *England*; perhaps not much above 48 Hours before the Town of *Berwick*, Cape of *Cornwal*, *Dover-Peer*, and *Holy-head*, had these dismal Apprehensions.

But that we may not always continue in this *Dilemma*, I would humbly offer these Two Expedients towards making the Militia more useful:

First, By shortning their Numbers: And,

Secondly, By lengthning their Time for Marchings and Exercise.

And for shortning their Numbers; whereas by a moderate Computation they may amount in *England* and *Wales*, to 90, or 100000 Men: (tho' at the full Value of the Lands and other Estates they ought to amount to 150000) Reduce them to half, that is about 50000: And this will be done by flinging off Quarters of Horses, and small Contributors to Foot; which causes great Disturbances, and is one reason so oft New Men and Horses appear. But if an entire 500 *l.* per Ann. finds a Horse and Horse-man, and 50 *l.* per Ann. finds a Foot-man; they will the easiler continue the same Man, and the same Horse, or very good Reason will be shew'd to the Lieutenancy or other Officers: And they may be the more strictly oblig'd so to do, and with less clamour and trouble fined and be distrain'd upon for Defaults.

Perhaps mentioning this part of the Militia-Laws may affright some from reading the remainder of this Discourse, therefore let us a little consider the Constitution of the Nation, when the Military Force was so useful as to be our absolute Security. I think Knights Service was the composition of those Military Forces now commonly call'd Militia: Which demonstrates, that Masters themselves appearing in Person for defence of their Country, Families, and Estates, were much better than their Servants, of which the Militia now seems to be composed; which is a Mistake in practice contrary to the Intention when Knights-Service was taken away. For when the Crown and Government comply'd to give ease to the Gentry and Freeholder, they thought

thought it a Hardship and Slavery to appear in their Persons, being a Fatigue they could not bear, unless they were of more robust Constitutions, than they generally were when this was consider'd and comply'd with. Then came the Militia to be compos'd of Representatives.

Now it was not suspected, that those who had been thus indulg'd by the Government, would ever have been so remiss in sending such slight and shagrene Men and Horses, for the Defence of the Crown and Government, and their own Persons and Properties. And this Inconsiderateness, in a long Series of Peace, was the first cause of slighting of the Militia, and caus'd the Crown and Court to seek for further Assistance. And now the Crown is guarded by a Military Assistance, which it confides in, 'tis natural and good Reason to keep what looks like a Certainty, instead of what is generally allow'd not to have the Face or Body of Security. But yet the Constitution is not so much destroy'd, but that 'tis probable it may be recover'd to its former Reputation; and that's what every *English-man* and Lover of the Country and Government ought to endeavour for. Therefore let us go on to draw Propositions for making them useful; and as that appears, I doubt not, the King will be inclin'd to lessen those which we will now only call necessary Guards, and not what we now, by an affrighting Expression, call a Standing Army. I would distinguish betwixt permission for Conveniency, or Necessity, and that which is fear'd to be establish'd; which I am fully assur'd the Parliament will never consent to, but will be their Business every Session, to see how these Pensionary Soldiers may be lessen'd — Jealousies started are not easily stifled. 'Tis Time that must make the Militia useful; for which we will go on, upon the computation of 50000 Horse and Foot in *England* and *Wales*. For bringing these to be useful, let us see how an Act may be drawn, keeping as near as may be to those Acts we have now in being. First, The limited time of fourteen Days in the Year, seems necessary to be enlarg'd: For fourteen Days in the Year for Private and General Musters seems too little, when half their time is spent in their going to the Rendezvous, or private Meeting, which sometimes are long Marches; or if ill Weather, there's either want of Refreshment, or they disabled for Exercise, that their Meeting signifies little more than the expence of Money.

I do promise my self the Number will be sooner consented to, than the necessary time I think to propose; though I will not desire the enlargement of fourteen Days in the Year, unless it be upon extraordinary Occasions, more than once in four Years: For I would propose, that 20000 Men should be marching every Year to *Hounslow*, or such Place as the King thinks fit, and there encamp for a Month or six Weeks; which time of marching out of their respective Countries, will improve them to such a height of natural Inclination, that they will appear thereby more useful, than in twenty Years meeting according to the present Acts. And encamping may make up eight or ten Weeks; and this coming but once in four Years, will not be so great a Charge, as many may suppose at first sight: For considering here's much of the number reduc'd, and tho' I propos'd that 500 *l. per Ann.* shall find a Man, Horse, and Accoutrements, and 10 *l. per Ann.* a Footman, for securing or preventing Changes of Men and Horses; yet it is not intended they shall be at the whole Charge, and others spar'd.

I the rather propose *Hounslow* as the most convenient, not only for the Goodness of its Situation, but its nearness to *London*, whereby it might easily be accommodated out of this Majesty's Stores in the Tower of *London*, with Tents, Arms, and Field Pieces: And if His Majesty would add thereto (at his own Charge) Ammunition-bread, it would be a mighty ease to the Country. I know I am enter'd into a Proposition that will be nicely and strictly canvass'd; because I suppose every individual Person that has been tax'd to this War, either for Lands, Money, Offices, or Personal Estate, shall bear a proportion to the Charge of maintaining the *Militia* of their County or City: For I do not apprehend where the Subject-Matter is of that Nature, that every individual Person enjoys a Benefit, why that Person should not pay proportionably to his Advantage and Estate.

I confess it has been my own Inclination all this War, that the Charge should have been born and maintain'd by a General Excise: It will be told me immediately, this is a Commonwealth Expedient, and Foreign Practice, enslaving the People, and eating and drinking by weight and measure, giving ordinary Persons the Privilege of examining my Cellar and Larder, and a greater Publication and Recording of my House-keeping, than the *Spaniards* scattering the Feathers at his Door when he eats a Fowl. Upon Examination, the Argument will be found

as light as the Simile: For if you examine the Laws that have been, and are in force at this Minute, you will find your self as narrowly inspected, as a general Excise will reach; especially if you have the same liberty in a general Excise, as you now have in the Malt-Act; that is, to compound it at so much a Head for your Family; and then all your Generosity of House-keeping, and Killing your own Meat, runs in; you oblige your Tenants, weaker sort of Neighbours; or being hospitable to the Poor, or Travellers, costs you nothing extraordinary; and yet 'tis as advantageous to them.

This would make a long Digression (if I should pursue it) from the main Topick; especially if I should endeavour to silence another general Out-cry, *Ob! this is destructive to the Freedom and Happiness of Old England!* I wish I could see *Old England* truly stated; I confess I have drank Her Health a hundred times, or more; and yet I can only admire Her, as I do *Queen Elizabeth* in a Farthingal and Ruff. I desire to know where the Honour of *Old England* resided undisturb'd, when the Act of Chimney-Money past; I am sure She was not free from ordinary Visitants, either in Her Rooms of State, or Closets; for Closets, a Constable, I am sure, (and I think a Peeper) might demand a view. The reach of your present Laws for the Militia, shall enforce you to discover to 20s. what you are worth, or else you shall forswear your self, or bear that Burthen that neither an Old nor Young *English-man* would bear, if he could help it. The Law and matter of Fact is this: The Lord-Lieutenants, with their Deputies, or any Three of them, may charge you or me to Horse or Foot as they please; and you must comply accordingly, or swear to the Estimate of your Condition. Now in the present Taxes, 'tis in the breast of an Assessor to return in his Duplicate, what Summ he pleases to the Commissioners, to whom you may appeal. What then? Your Remedy will not be had without an Oath. The Commissioners themselves are to withdraw, whilst they are assessed by their Brethren; who if mistaken in their Estimate, it must be born, or else Swearing must remedy the Mistake. And this leads me to a Question of the difference betwixt our Old and New *England*: In the Old the Oath *ex Officio*; in the New, Oaths *Purgative* or *Defensive*. The matter is, Whether is *England* the worse for altering or adding some few Particulars and Clauses, for making her Militia more useful? Are we the worse for reforming the Church in

Henry VIII. 's time? Are we the worse for pulling down or demolishing inland Castles and Strong Holds? And upon the unfortunate Burning the City, would you have had it Built in the same Form as before? 'Tis now much better, and 'tis *London* still, the same Ground; and *St. Paul's* is where it was.

If I have gain'd the Argument in that Point, I shall go more cheerfully on, and prove my Position in the Title; that 'tis an easie matter to add to the Foundations of Buildings or Governments; and sometimes Alterations are made very advantageous in the Walls of old Buildings.

As to this Standard of the Militia, I would have it a Militia still, and that it should have the same full Force, Strength, and Virtue that it ever had; and if a Red-Coat, or another Colour, will do the same thing as a Head-piece, Back, Breast, Cap-a-pee; why should Men bebruized to death with carrying of furr'd Iron, to the tiring and spoiling of their Horses also; especially when 'tis one of the chief Ridicules the Disciplin'd Army makes upon the Militia? There are many Reflections like those, the Army makes upon the Militia; I have heard most of them, and can find Commendation for both Army and Militia, and Defects or Inconveniencies in both, having been in both: But not despising or espousing either, perhaps having not found Pleasure or Profit in either, longer than the Heat of Youth was in me, I shall discourse of them only as they are useful to the Government, and People in general, and their joint Interest.

Therefore I come now at last to stick to Reasons, why the Militia should be paid by a General Stock, of and in the County, proportionably to the Numbers it shall naturally raise, according to the computed Numbers now, and the Reducements propos'd, and for the Time and Marches aforementioned.

And because the first Objection to the Time and Marchings, to be paid by the Country will be here in the Exchequer and for Offices, I must declare my self so much an *English man*, as to be bold to say, those Offices are more improv'd by this long War, than any Employments or Lands in *England*; not that I envy them (if they are not ill Men, as has been hinted at) for I would have had one of the Places my self: But I am apt to believe the Country may save Money, and the King be as well serv'd. So the King be faithfully and well serv'd, 'tis equal to him whether the Officers and Soldiers in the Militia be paid by Methods which shall be directed by Parliament for payments in the Countries, or the General Pay-Offices, as it has been this late War.

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First 'Tis certain Money may be sav'd, which Offices and Officers will swallow. The Freeholder desires to see who spends the Money he compasses by turning the Plow at the Lands-end. 'Tis fine following the Plow in a Sun-shine Day, sucking in, and snuffing up the Freshness of the Earth, but Wet and Dry to follow and turn the Plow; *Hic Labor, hoc Opus est!* And after all your Nine Months Labour carking and caring, you must Thrash out your Compensation. Will not this naturally make a Man enquire who eats and drinks his 4s. in the Pound out of the Quick Stock?

This will raise a Disposition for making the Militia useful, if it be so methodiz'd, that at the Assizes, or Sessions, every Constable may bring back the Officers and Soldiers Pay who lives within his Liberties, without Poundage, Agencies, and several other stoppages: You will find all the Soldiers that shall be disbanded, solicit to be in the Militia, and wish they may march to *Hounslow*. It will be found that the *English* Nation is not so effeminate, sluggish, cowardly, or indispos'd to Military Affairs, as they have been character'd perhaps by Three Potentates, who have made use of their Travels to dazle their Design of altering the Fundamental Part of the Government, which I heartily adhere to; tho' I am not strictly for a *Spanish Formidon*, who runs the hazard of twenty Inconveniencies for an inconsiderable old Custom.

But now it pleases Providence to afford us the Prospect of a happy and peaceable New Year, let us endeavour to pick out of the Times past, what's rationally probable to secure future Generations, from the Calamities these latter have undergone: To which purpose, let us go on to make our Discipline equal to our Courage, which has appear'd in the Eyes, and has had the due Character, from the Judgment and Pronunciation of the Greatest and most Experienc'd General in Christendom, our present KING.

There seems to be an absolute necessity, that something material should be done concerning the Militia. I am not so fond of my own Positions as to press for their observance: I only set them out as marks for others to try their Guns against: But if they should be so fortunate as to come within the View and Cognizance of his Majesty and Parliament, and they give any sort of Countenance, it may encourage me to a further Industry and

Should what has been said as to Numbers, Times and Places, be put in practice for four Years, I doubt not it will be found a very good Expedient for making the Militia useful ; and consequently a satisfactory way for securing the Nation. 'Tis not to be imagin'd, before 'tis practic'd, how much it will Spirit the Nation, when the Masculine Martial Disposition shall be assur'd they are to appear before so Great a General as we have mention'd ; whose scrutinous Eye in Marchings or Musterings, is the strictest Superiour that our *England* has been blest with : And I hope, when he sees an entire Body of *English* (for I think his Armies hitherto have been a miscellany of all Nations) he will be fully assur'd they will really deserve that Great and High Complimentive Character he has given of the *English* Courage, which, for the Honour of the Nation, the present Army has kept up ; and I hope the Parliament will resolve on signalizing the Army's Courage Affection before they part. Were I not doubtful my Head and Pen would be thought too busie, I would humbly offer that an Act should pass, That every Soldier that has a Certificate from his Officer, That he has behav'd himself Faithfully and Courageously, shall have the Freedom of every City or Town Corporate, to set up what Manufactory, Trade, or lawful Industry his Genius leads him to ; or if lame, or super-annuated, to receive a Pension from his Native Country, or longest Residence before he went for a Soldier. There was something of this kind, upon the Restoration of King *Charles*, when there was also a Provision made for Officers, which happily may be now. But I hope there will be more care taken for a speedier Distribution ; for the Solicitation and Attendance eat out the Benevolence. And if there be now an Act, as there was then, for prohibiting the distinguishing People by Characters, it would take off many Heats that arise, and may encrease a better Affection in the Nation.

I hope these Notions are not erroneous, tho' they deviate a little from the main Subject ; to which I crave leave to put another Patch, by way of Caution, that this Method for the Militia be not expensive by the way of vying ; for I am near an Assurance, that if the Position of coming to *Hounslow* take effect, if there be not a limitation for Clothing and Equipage, both of Officers and Soldiers, the Counties, and Officers in each County, will be vying who shall appear most splendid before his Majesty : For 'tis not to be doubted his Martial Disposition will Honour them often with his Presence. It will be a Recreation to Him at
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that Season of the Year I humbly propose, from *May-Day* to *Midsummer*, which in probability will be healthful and pleasant Marching and Encamping, and a Season the Soldiers may be best spar'd from their Countries, returning by Harvest. It will be a time the King, Nobility, and Gentry may want Business and Recreation, which makes them dote on the Wells: For the Parliament, 'tis probable, will be seldom sitting about that time; nor is there Field-Sports for the King, Nobility, or Gentry; nor has the Country Gentleman much to do at that Season. Yet 'tis pity a Gentleman that loves his Country and is willing to bestow his Pains, and hazard his Life, should suffer in his Estate, either by neglecting it, or being at an extraordinary Expence: Therefore for a distinguishing Mark of Honour, and something of Interest, let him be exempted from other chargeable Offices; if he himself will plead the Act, that is, from being High Sheriff, serving on Juries, or being a Justice of Peace, &c. But I would be understood all Commission-Officers, under a Deputy Lieutenant; as, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns. As for other Field-Officers, Lieutenant-Generals, Major-Generals, Brigadiers, &c. 'tis not to be doubted but the King has nurs'd up a sufficient number, who have shewn their Valour and Conduct in the late War, and will be instructive to the Militia, whenever they shall appear: And altho' the sham *Buda* and *Maestricht* were ridicul'd in former times; yet if a *Namure* or *Limerick*, or several Skirmishes in the Defiles; such Attacks (as Diversions) every Year they are encamp'd, will not be found to be lost Labours.

This Position will help to bring in many of good Estates to be the Officers: And if it should so happen that some Gentlemen out of Modesty (as there are many very stout Gentlemen, so modest that they will not offer themselves tho' they are willing) should not voluntarily come in, let it be in the Brest of the King, His Lord Lieutenants, &c. to recommend, invite, and perswade such Gentlemen as they think proper, but no compulsive Power for Officers: And I have heard some argue (when I made some Propositions formerly for the improvement of the *Militia*) that it was against the Fundamental Constitution of *England*, to have any Man press'd; To which Objection was offered, That in case a funder is not able, or willing of himself to march, or lift himself, nor cannot enjoin a Son, or prevail with a Relation, or a young Neighbour, that's fit and likely to be a Representative,

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in such a Case, if the Finder discovers a fitting Man in the Parish or Neighbourhood, that in his Opinion and in the Opinion of his substantial Neighbours, and of the Parson of the Parish, who may certifie under their Hands, That such a Person is able, and in Personal Appearance fitting for Soldiery; and that it does not appear to them, that this Person does get his Livelihood by an open, industrious Means, but it is to be fear'd he is a Trespasser in the Night, or at improper times out upon Fishing, Fowling, Shooting Deer or Rabbits, if not other worse things: Upon such Information to the next Justice of Peace, he may send his Warrant for him and enjoin him to list himself; and, in case of refusal, he may send him to the House of Correction, or the Goal for 12 Months, or till such time as he will list himself; I am sure it would have eas'd the Country of many idle Persons, that have come to the Gallows, and yet would not put themselves into Arms all this War.

These are but Particles of the Discourse may arise, betwixt the Constitution and the Modalities; which seems to me like the Carpet-Knights, that arraign that which they either dare not do themselves, or if they have a Family-Courage to undertake, they know not how to do; yet to do something more than Argument is *Ajax* to *Ulysses*, *Ostente Facta*: And we have a new Pronunciator, rather do ill than do nothing; which is, if you will do nothing by way of a serious Consideration to make the *Militia* useful, you must submit to a Standing Army, which will do little mischievous Tricks, whilst they are idle, and grosser as Time serves: I can and dare witness, that I heard it in an Argument of several Officers in a Veterane Regiment now in being, That if the King commanded him to take the Life of any Man, he would do it subservient to his Pay; and this Topick was currently discours'd amongst several Officers upon the Trial of *Urats*. These will in part hint, I am not absolutely a Stranger to my Country, nor affected to any thing that shall in common Sense be prejudicial; therefore give me leave to go through one Allusion, and I have done: Here's King and Parliament, Subjects, Civil and Military, Military standing Army, or *Militia*, who labour, gather, and spin, like Bees and Silk-worms, for the Publick Good. Now as Bees and Silk-worms are mixt with Drones, Wasps and Grubs; so the Constitution being a mixt Government, it seems reasonable the Preservation should be a Miscellany between a *Militia*, and Regular Troops. This Allusion is an Epitome of the whole Discourse; The Parliament being the Representatives of the Nation, I hope will concur with the Desires of the King; or, That
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His Majesty will acquiesce in what they think, or apprehend agreeable to the Interest of Old *England*, or to our Constitution, or a probable Certainty of some Settlement : Tho' I cannot pretend to advise, give me leave to conclude with the Courtship of *Tully*; which is better than I can make or express.

Non tantopere mihi considerandum est, Quid tu Optimus in Præsentia Velis, quam quid semper probaturus sis. —

POSTSCRIPT.

IF this prove not satisfactory to your Pains in the Perusal, you are requested to believe this Pamphlet was penned in *Christ-mas* Holy-days, when the Subject-Matter was in a warm Dispute; and left to a Friend's Discretion, whether he would publish it, or not. Whilst this was in Consideration, the Honourable House of Commons corroborating their Vote for Disbanding the Army to a former Number; my Friend thought fit to lay it aside, (whilst I was absent, by a long Journey.) Nor had I Intentions, since my Coming to Town, that it should come forth, till I had the View of a Book for making the Militia more useful : Wherein that Author demonstrates his having read more of the *Roman History*, and their Method, than he has seen of the Practical Discipline of this Age. Not that I censure his Pains : Nor am I fond of the few Propositions here inserted ; They are only as an Addition to the Gentleman, who has made the first Step towards making the Militia more useful. Which Subject, I suppose, he does not intend to pursue; because he tells us, he is employing himself in an Historical Discourse (in Latin and English) of *Brutus* ; or, *The History of Liberty and Tyranny*. I hope this will not be construed that I am Censorious; for I really esteem him a Gentleman of Parts, though I am unknown to him: And will thus far endeavour to join with him in this Work, that if he will allow his Labour to be bringing of Brick, mine shall pass for Mortar; which others may place, and cement, as they have more Skill in Raising a Superstructure. I hope we shall not be deeply censured for endeavouring to enlarge the Acts for the Militia.

I may affirm *Hounslow* to be a proper Place for Encamping, because I have heard many eminent Officers, who have been much abroad, say, no Place in *Europe* admits of better Accommodations, both for fresh Provisions, and excellent Water; And so large an Encampment, that 20000 Men may be seen in a Line, upon a dry Flat; and convenient Room for Exercise, Wheelings, and Marchings.

I know there will be two Objections to this Proposition of *Hounslow*, with so many Men yearly; *First*, The Charge: *Secondly*, Long Marches; from *Cornwal*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and the North and South parts of *Wales*.

The first is answered by Computation, Whether is easier, For the Kingdom to have 20000 Men in Pay, by way of Rotation, for Three Months in the Year; or 20 or 30000 in continual Pay, as a Standing Army. Clothing is the same yearly; or else they will be a dull and ragged Aspect in a Camp. And if 20000 Men come every Spring, yearly, fresh Men, and fresh clothed, it will be an Honour to the Kingdom. And in the Rotation of Four Years, 80000 Men are in Discipline. Allow Eight or Ten Weeks for Marching and Encamping 20000 Men; Then allow the old Fourteen Days for Exercising those that remain in their Countries for Three Years; That they meet Two or Three Days every Quarter; the whole amounts but to Three Months in the Year. And this, I am confident, will keep their Memories and Motions in Ure.

And to the other Objection, of long Marches; 'Tis rather a great Help, than otherwise, for making Soldiers. One Camp, the farther distant from their Native Residence, will quicken the Spirits, and accomplish Soldiers, more than Seven Years in their own Country. And as to *Cornwal*, &c. let them march into the Camp a Week later, and march out a Week sooner than the Body of the Army. And if part of the Guards encamp yearly, they will be a Pattern and Example to the Kingdom in general.

Many Particles, and little Instances, I could have added, which would have swelled this Pamphlet beyond the present Value. I therefore wave them, till I see how these are accepted, or improved; and accordingly, endeavour to make the Courteous Reader better Satisfaction; who subscribe my self,

His Humble Servant,
Philo-Patriæ.

FINIS.